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NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 DODE-00 CU-02 /085 W
----- 035399

P R 210835Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1545

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 264

AMEMBASSY OSLO

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CINCLANT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 1962

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE: REVISED SOVIET POSITION ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION
OF MANEUVERS

REF: GENEVA 1766

SUMMARY: AMPLIFYING ON REMARKS OF SOVIET DELEGATION CHIEF
ON MARCH 13, AMBASSADOR MENDEL VICH AND OTHER PACT REPS IN
MARCH 18-19 SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS REAFFIRMED WILLINGNESS TO
NOTIFY NATIONAL MILITARY MANEUVERS TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS
ON BASIS OF SPECIFIC PARAMETERS AND TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY ON
THESE PARAMETERS IF OTHERS AT CONFERENCE ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE
THE "MAGIC WORD" OF VOLUNTARINESS. ALL PACT REPS STRESSED THAT
THEY WOULD SEE "MORAL AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION" TO FULFILL
COMMITMENT, EVEN IF WORDS "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS" APPEAR
IN TEXT. PACT ALSO STATED THAT LANGUAGE FOR NATURE OF
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COMMITMENT (I.E., USE OF WORDS "WILL," OR "INTEND TO," ETC.)

COULD BE SETTLED AFTER PARAMETERS ARE AGREED, ALTHOUGH IN THEIR VIEW A CONSENSUS MIGHT EMERGE FOR "WILL." ALLIES IN REACTIONS WELCOMED MANY POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN MENDELEVICH STATEMENT, BUT TOOK RESERVED POSITIONS ON WHETHER AN OBLIGATION COULD BE DESCRIBED AS "VOLUNTARY." NEUTRALS WERE MORE OPENLY CRITICAL, AND ROMANIA REJECTED NEW MOVES AS INSUFFICIENT. IT MAY WELL BE THAT NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL REPRESENTS FACE-SAVING DEVICE NECESSARY TO BRING SOVIET MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT TO ACCEPTANCE OF MORE MEANINGFUL PARAMETERS AND THAT ALLIES COULD ACCEPT "VOLUNTARY BASIS," TAKING INTO ACCOUNT EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF MORAL AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION. PENDING INSTRUCTIONS, HOWEVER, WE WILL URGE POSTPONEMENT OF DRAFTING ON BASIS OF SOVIET PROPOSALS AT LEAST UNTIL AFTER EASTER. END SUMMARY.

1. OPENING A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN BY WARSAW PACT REPRESENTATIVES TO PROMOTE NEW SOVIET CBM POSITIONS IN MILITARY SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS OF MARCH 18-19, AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH GAVE LENGTHY STATEMENT AMPLIFYING ON REMARKS OF SOVIET DELEGATION CHIEF KOVALEV IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE ON MARCH 13 (REF A). MANDELEVICH REFUTED CORRIDOR SPECULATION THAT SOVIETS WANT TO LEAVE CBM ISSUES UNTIL LAST NIGHT OF CONGERENCE, AND MAINTAINED THAT SOVIETS ARE SINCERELY INTERESTED IN RESOLVING THEM IN RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE. OTHER POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN STATEMENT INCLUDED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ADOPT AND WRITE DOWN THAT NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MANEUVERS, BOTH NATIONAL AND MULTINATIONAL, WOULD BE SENT TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS, AND THAT SOVIETS WOULD ALSO BE FLEXIBLE ON "A NUMBER OF OTHER PARAMETERS AS WELL."

2. IN EXPLANATION OF REASONS FOR SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT MANEUVER CBM MUST BE VOLUNTARY, MENDELEVICH SAID THAT IMPASSE UP TO NOW ON MANEUVERS HAD BEEN BECAUSE DISCUSSION WAS "TOO BOGGED DOWN IN TREATY-LIKE FORMULATIONS." STRESSING THAT RESULTS OF CONFERENCE WOULD BE POLITICAL IN NATURE, MENDELEVICH ARGUED THAT ABSOLUTELY BINDING MEASURES WOULD REDUCE RATHER THAN CONFIDENTIAL

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ENHANCE CONFIDENCE. SOVIETS HAD THUS SOUGHT A "MAGIC WORD," AND BELIEVED THAT THEY HAD FOUND IT, IF OTHERS COULD ACCEPT "VOLUNTARY" BASIS FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE. ALTHOUGH SOVIETS WOULD HAVE SEEN CONSIDERABLE MERIT IN AVOIDING SPECIFIC PARAMETERS, THEY WERE WILLING TO ACCEDE TO THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY AND TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC PARAMETERS. ONCE A BASIC AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON THE VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE MEASURE, THERE

COULD BE A CHAIN REACTION LEADING TO AGREED PARAMETERS, AS LONG AS "MAXIMALIST" POSITIONS WERE NOT RIGIDLY MAINTAINED. FINALLY, MENDELEVICH STRESSED THAT THE VOLUNTARY BASIS FOR MANEUVER CBM SHOULD BE SEEN IN REALISTIC CONTEXT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AT CONFERENCE. EVEN IF THE WORD "VOLUNTARY" APPEARED IN TEXT, PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE A MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY TO CARRY OUT THEIR PROMISES.

3. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS FROM OTHER REPS AT MEETING, MENDELEVICH SUBSEQUENTLY CLARIFIED THAT SOVIETS DO NOT INSIST ON SETTLING QUESTION OF NATURE OF COMMITMENT IN MANEUVERS MEASURE AT THIS JUNCTURE. THIS COULD BE LEFT UNTIL AFTER AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON PARAMETERS. WHAT WAS IMPORTANT FOR SOVIETS WAS AN AGREEMENT BY ALL "IN PRINCIPLE" TO THE PHRASE "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS." USE OF WORD "VOLUNTARY" WAS INTENDED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF "PRESENT STATE OF RELATIONS IN EUROPE, AS FAR AS THE MILITARY SPHERE IS CONCERNED," BUT, HE REITERATED, STATES WOULD HAVE A MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY TO IMPLEMENT WHAT THEY EXPRESS THE INTENTION TO IMPLEMENT.

4. SUPPORTING STATEMENTS BY REPS OF GDR, POLAND, AND BULGARIA ALL REPEATED THEME OF MORAL AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY THAT SIGNATORY STATES WOULD HAVE, REGARDLESS OF USE OF WORD "VOLUNTARY." BULGARIAN REP SAID THAT IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT STATES WOULD NEED TO CARRY OUT THE MEASURE ASSIDUOUSLY; OTHERWISE THEY WOULD UNDERMINE BASIS FOR IMPORTANT FOLLOW-UP TO CSCE THAT MANY STATES DESIRED. IF VOLUNTARY BASIS WERE ACCEPTED BY ALL, HE THOUGHT THERE WAS A NEAR CONSENSUS THAT THE WORD "WILL" COULD BE USED FOR NATURE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMITMENT.

5. IN REACTION TO WARSAW PACT STATEMENTS, US REP AND MAJORITY OF ALLIES (INCLUDING FRG, UK, FRANCE, ITALY AND CANADA) SPOKE IN SUBCOMMITTEE TO WELCOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS, BUT TEMPORIZED ON WHETHER MANEUVERS MEASURE MIGHT BE DESCRIBED AS VOLUNTARY. US, UK AND NORWAY SAID THEY WERE AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS. OTHERS WERE CAUTIOUSLY CRITICAL. NETHERLANDS REP CITED PARTICULAR INTEREST OF SMALLER COUNTRIES IN MEANINGFUL CBM'S AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT WATERING DOWN OF MANEUVERS MEASURE WOULD RESULT IN NOTHING MORE THAN "WHAT WE COULD HAVE DONE IF WE HAD STAYED HOME." FRANCE AND CANADA DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN MANEUVERS MEASURE ON THE ONE HAND AND ON THE OTHER THE AGREED OBSERVERS MEASURE,

ON WHICH SOVIETS SEEMED TO BE MODELING PRESENT POSITION, POINTING OUT THAT OBSERVERS MEASURE WAS OBVIOUSLY OF A VOLUNTARY CHARACTER, SINCE IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT INVITE ALL OTHERS TO SEND OBSERVERS TO ALL MANEUVERS, WHILE MANEUVERS MEASURE WOULD NOT HAVE THIS DISCRETIONARY FEATURE AND SHOULD THUS INVOLVE A STRONGER OBLIGATION. CANADIAN REP ADDITIONALLY ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF ALL THE EVENTUALLY AGREED PARAMETERS WERE MET BY A MANEUVER, BUT NOTIFICATION WERE "VOLUNTARILY" WITHHELD. CONVERSELY, IF SOVIETS DID NOT INTEND TO WITHHOLD ANY NOTIFICATION THAT MET AGREED PARAMETERS, WHY WAS IT NECESSARY TO MAKE NOTIFICATION "VOLUNTARY?" FRG ASKED SOVIETS TO CONSIDER WHETHER, IF THEY EXPECTED THAT MANEUVERS MEASURE WOULD BE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY BINDING, THEY COULD NOT FIND WORDS TO EXPRESS THIS.

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NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 DODE-00 CU-02 /085 W
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P R 210835Z MAR 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 265

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6. NEUTRAL REPS WHO HAVE SPOKEN THUS FAR (SPAIN,

MALTA, SWEDEN, AND SWITZERLAND) HAVE GENERALLY BEEN MORE OPENLY CRITICAL OF SOVIET IDEAS. SPANISH REP OBSERVED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO LEGAL SANCTIONS FOR ANY CSCE MEASURE, AND WONDERED THEREFORE WHETHER THERE WAS ANY NEED FOR FURTHER QUALIFICATION FOR CBM'S MEASURES AS VOLUNTARY. MALTESE REP PRESSED FOR FURTHER WORK ON PARAMETERS BEFORE ANY DECISIONS WERE REACHED ON CHARACTER OF OBLIGATION. HOWEVER, EVEN NEUTRAL REPS APPEARED TO LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN FOR AN EVENTUAL COMMITMENT, AND ONLY NEAGU (ROMANIA) REJECTED SOVIET VIEWS OUTRIGHT. NEAGU SAID APPARENT SOVIET LACK OF WILL TO ACCEPT A FULL COMMITMENT ON MANEUVERS WOULD ERODE 18 MONTHS OF ASSIDUOUS WORK IN CBM SUBCOMMITTEE, AND WARNED THAT ROMANIANS WOULD PROLONG DISCUSSIONS OF SUBCOMMITTEE, OF OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES, AND OF CSCE STAGE II UNLESS SOVIETS CAME FORTH WITH MORE CON-
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STRUCTIVE APPROACHES.

7. AT CLOSE OF DISCUSSION ON MARCH 19, MENDELEVICH EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE REACTIONS TO SOVIET IDEAS, AND SAID SOVIETS WERE OPEN TO A CONTINUATION OF GENERAL EXCHANGES OR TO PROCEEDING WITH EDITING OR DRAFTING. WHEN DRAFTING BEGAN, HE SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO WORK CONCURRENTLY ON THE INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE OF THE MANEUVERS MEASURE, IN WHICH SOVIETS WISH TO INSERT "ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS," AND ON THE SEPARATE SENTENCE ON PROCEDURES FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. ALTERNATIVELY, HE SAID THE TWO SENTENCES MIGHT BE COMBINED INTO ONE.

8. COMMENTS: REPEATED SOVIET AND WARSAW PACT STRESS ON MORAL AND POLITICAL COMMITMENT THEY WOULD UNDERTAKE ON MANEUVERS MEASURE HAS HAD GENERALLY POSITIVE EFFECT ON ALLIED REACTION. IN FACT, STATEMENTS OF PACT REPS SEEM TO INDICATE THAT "VOLUNTARY" MEANS MORE OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL (FREIWILLIG, AS THE WORD IS BEING TRANSLATED INTO GERMAN) THAN "OPTIONAL" (FACULTATIF, AS THE WORD IS BEING TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH). IF ALLIES CHOSE TO, THEY COULD THUS INTERPRET THE WORD "VOLUNTARY" TO MEAN THAT THE SOVIETS ENTERED INTO THE MANEUVERS COMMITMENT OF THEIR OWN FREE WILL, RATHER THAN THAT THEY WILL IMPLEMENT THE MANEUVERS MEASURE ON AN OPTIONAL BASIS. SOVIETS HAVE TOLD US THAT RUSSIAN WORDS THEY ARE USING FOR "VOLUNTARY BASIS" ARE "DOBROVOLNAYA OSNOVE."

9. MENDELEVICH'S STATEMENT THAT "VOLUNTARY" IS A "MAGIC WORD" SEEMS TO DOVETAIL WITH A GREEK REPORT THAT KOVALEV HAD DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW WITH SOVIET

MILITARY LEADERS TWO WEEKS AGO, AND THAT NEW SOVIET INSTRUCTIONS DERIVE FROM THESE CONSULTATIONS.

10. AS FOR SPECIFIC TEXTUAL ASPECTS OF SOVIET POSITION, WE NOTE THAT MENDELVICH IN COMMITTEE STATEMENTS DROPPED THE WORD "RECIPROCAL" WHICH WAS USED BY KOVALEV IN REFTTEL, AND SOVIETS HAVE CONFIRMED TO US BILATERALLY THAT THEY PREFER NOT TO INCLUDE "RECIPROCAL" IN MANEUVERS MEASURE. IF THERE IS AN EVENTUAL CONSENSUS ON INCLUSION OF "ON CONFIDENTIAL

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A VOLUNTARY BASIS" OR WORDS TO THAT EFFECT IN MANEUVERS MEASURE, WE FORESEE, AS BULGARIAN REP POINTED OUT, THAT THERE WILL BE A GENERAL INCLINATION TO USE THE WORD "WILL" TO DESCRIBE NATURE OF COMMITMENT IN THIS MEASURE AND PERHAPS ELSEWHERE IN CBM'S. WE WOULD THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT REEVALUATION OF US POSITION ON NATURE OF COMMITMENT MAY BE DESIRABLE IN NEAR FUTURE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

11. ON IMMEDIATE TACTICAL QUESTIONS, ALLIED CAUCUS WILL MEET BEFORE FINAL PRE-EASTER SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING ON MARCH 21, AND WE WILL URGE DEFERRING DRAFTING ON MANEUVERS MEASURE AT LEAST UNTIL FIRST MEETING AFTER BREAK, NOW SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 3, SO AS TO ALLOW TIME FOR CAPITALS TO REFLECT AND SEND INSTRUCTIONS. NATO DELEGATION HEADS HAVE ALREADY AGREED THAT POSSIBLE ALLIED COUNTERMOVES ON PARAMETERS SHOULD ALSO BE HELD FOR POST-EASTER PERIOD. END COMMENT. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY EXERCISES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA01962
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750099-0205
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750328/aaaaazhr.tel
Line Count: 310
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 1766
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 JUN 2003 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <17 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: REVISED SOVIET POSITION ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, XG, UR, US, CSCE
To: n/a
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006